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evenly distributed, *división* is more often sought – by the have-nots. Factionalism implements *división* in some cases (as on Nahuelpan and Alonqueo), and this may be largely aside from considerations of land.

On Alonqueo the concept of land rights and the emotional quality involved in land ownership differ significantly from Llancaman and Huilcan. On Alonqueo most people, including women and older children, are able to state exactly how much land their household "owns" (although land is not held under severalty title, petition has been made for *división)* and also how much other families "own."

On Llancaman each person knows how much land he "holds," and this knowledge is based on the awareness that one's father, through original registration or inheritance, has a right to five or so hectares. A man estimates that he also "occupies" so-and-so many additional hectares of onetime common land which he has cleared or otherwise improved. He does not speak of this land as his property, however, in the same way he does of the five or so hectares he has inherited.

On Huilcan, where even less land is utilized for agriculture, scarcely a person speaks in terms of owning land, although, like their neighbors on Llancaman, they too have "rights" over a certain percentage of land allotted to original registrants and passed along through inheritance. They "occupy" all the land they use. They realize that they would have special claim to land they work and that they would exercise such claim at the time of *división*, but they do not think in terms of "ownership." They do not know, furthermore, how much land other people on the reservation "occupy," and sometimes their estimates are very wide of the mark. Even in reference to one's own "occupied" land, measurement revealed numerous discrepancies.

Where they exist, notions of individual ownership of land tend to crosscut traditional concepts based on the land rights of kingroups above the level of the family. While this seems in some degree true for all reservations, it is most in evidence under the conditions stated above. Individual property concepts tend to correlate with the establishment of neolocal households. It is in this context that the elementary family is becoming somewhat isolated from the larger kingroup in the economic sphere.

MARKETS AND CREDIT

The bulk of the Mapuche are only on the periphery of the regional market and credit economy. Cash is scarce and credit difficult to ob-

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tain. Interest rates are sometimes in excess of 100 per cent. For the most part, the Mapuche are ill at ease and naive in market and credit operations.

Markets are available to all reservation Mapuche, although the Indians near the provincial capital, Temuco, and the larger secondary towns have stronger ties to the regional markets and are more frequently involved in a greater-than-reservation economic structure.

The railroad which runs through the Central Valley from north to south, and the several branch lines running east and west, service the Mapuche areas. In addition, there are a number of all-weather roads connecting the reservations with the regional markets. The remoter reservations are linked to the better roads, where trucks and buses are available, by ox roads and foot trails which, for the most part, are not passable in the wet winter months. Because of poor transportation, for example, Mapuche are sometimes unable to sell firewood during the winter months, at a time when their food reserves are ebbing, cash is much needed, and there is a demand for firewood in the towns.

As a rule, Mapuche tend to sell garden produce, apples, barnyard fowl, a few pigs and sheep for the purpose of obtaining small amounts of cash for immediate use. There is always a seasonal abundance, but little or no thought of stretching it out over the year. This results in the paradox of postharvest surpluses in an economy of bare subsistence. These sales, however, enable the Indians to buy lard, kerosene, pots, plates, knives, etc., and "luxuries" such as matches, mate (Paraguayan "tea"), cigarettes, wine, clothing, and other items which represent rather newly acquired needs. One sees both men and women carrying their wares to town on trucks and buses or in oxcarts. A single chicken may be carried more than 20 kilometers and sold to make a small cash purchase.

Credit is scarce. For most purchases, the Mapuche is required to pay *al contado*, or cash on the barrelhead. This is especially so for small purchases, such as the items listed above, for there are very few storekeepers who are willing to keep credit accounts for Mapuche. Shopkeepers regard them as poor risks either because they are felt to be generally untrustworthy or because they are too poor to be able to liquidate their credit within a reasonably short time.

Nevertheless, Mapuche are able to raise cash or obtain seeds through credit negotiations under certain circumstances. Agents from the towns make a tour of the country in the preharvest season to in-

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quire if there are individuals who want to sell their standing crops. This is the practice of buying *cosechas en yerba* and is especially pernicious. Mapuche who need cash, usually for the purchase of flour or other food, and who have no other means of establishing credit, offer their green crops for sale. They do this in the spring of the year, when there is a general shortage – when even the reserves in town are low – but they are usually talked into selling their crops at a low rate. If the harvest is poor, however, the Mapuche takes no additional loss.

The same procedure operates for the sale of unborn animals. Agents visit the Mapuche homesteads, look over the stock, and pay a price for a certain number of calves or sheep that will shortly be born. The Mapuche agrees to make good if the animals die, although it is often difficult for the agent to force the issue. There is room for sharp practice on both sides, although the Mapuche generally strikes a poorer bargain than the agent. Mapuche make these arrangements with *fundo* owners as well as with businessmen from town.

Credit at very reasonable rates of interest is sometimes made available to Mapuche through the government's *Caja de Crédito*. A Mapuche desirous of obtaining credit through this agency – for seeds – contacts his local political representative. There are several Mapuche *Diputados* in the national government who rely heavily on the good will of the reservation Indians for election to office. If the *Diputado* feels that the petitioning Mapuche is a good risk, a matter he is able to ascertain through personal contacts with the chief or another important individual of the man's reservation, he will vouch for the Indian, who will then be able to get government credit. By way of official proof requisite to obtaining both the support of the *Diputado* and credit from the *Caja*, the Mapuche must secure a copy of the original *título de merced* map signed by the archivist of reservation records. If the loan is not repaid, the source of credit is closed, unless there are important extenuating circumstances. Furthermore, pressure will be brought to bear on a recalcitrant Indian, or even on one who is unable to repay because of a crop failure or other exigency, by the *Diputado* through the mediation of the chief.

Thus, in periods of general short supply (on the reservations and in the towns), Mapuche tend to enter into debt for purchases of food and seed. The system has long been that of selling rights to standing crops or to unborn animals. In this sort of negotiation the Mapuche takes an immediate loss owing to market-cornering practices in a

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credit system of which he is at best only dimly aware. The purchaser takes much less risk, since he pays less than the standing crops are worth and, should there be a poor harvest, could at least break even.

The Mapuche are finding it increasingly difficult to produce enough crops on their small holdings to maintain themselves. The situation is serious enough for thousands of Mapuche to have abandoned reservation life entirely and sought their living elsewhere. Private ownership of land (through *división*) and individual initiative have not generally been successful adaptations to this condition, since in areas where there is good farmland more efficient Chilean farmers have usually managed to buy out Mapuche freeholders once they were no longer protected by reservation law. For those remaining on the reservation, tight credit and scarce capital aggravate their difficulties. The reservation Mapuche have attempted to solve their agrarian problem in three major ways. One, to which we will turn immediately, is renting of land to outsiders. Another is offering the use of land to tenant farmers. The third is the half-share system, whereby the Mapuche provides land and (usually) a Chilean provides labor and capital to exploit it.

ECONOMIC TRENDS: LAND RENTAL, TENANT FARMING, AND SHARECROPPING

Land Rental

Land may be rented on a contractual basis, the arrangements being legalized before the *Juez de Indios*. Rental occurs rather infrequently. It is uncommon for one Mapuche to rent land to another; rentals are by and large to Chileans. However, the Mapuche are highly suspicious of Chileans living on the reservation or controlling land there on a contractual basis because a negotiation of this sort tends to perpetuate itself. The Indian court apparently regards with favor Chilean farmers who have contracted to cultivate reservation land, and it is difficult to eject them. Chileans who have *ocupante* status sometimes acquired their hold on a parcel of reservation land on a contract basis, the arrangements of which were perpetuated until the individual's claim became of sufficient *de facto* strength that the legal recognition of *ocupante* was attained.

Rentals tend to be made by absentees, although Mapuche who hold many hectares also resort to this practice. The absentee is often if not usually interested in having the reservation undergo *división* so that

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In conclusion, the Araucana Corporation requested Sr. Vial to receive their representative, Don Venancio Cumurpan, who would report to him on the vital needs of the Indians. In this way they hoped to enlist the Minister's aid in drawing up a new version of the present Law which would affect two hundred thousand Indians, making it possible for them to fulfill their two-fold ambition: work their fields and increase the wealth of the nation.

It is common to read declarations and arguments in the Temuco newspapers in which the major factions express themselves. The *Unión Araucana*, in addition, publishes its own official bulletin, *El Araucano*, in which its position is continually explained and editorial attacks are made against opposition groups.

I quote in full a short editorial blast from *El Araucano* (August 1953. [p. 4]) which I trust will serve to point up its feelings against the major opposition groups as well as illustrate the sort of issues abroad in Araucanía:

> Es una gran mentira la especie que anda en el campo y que, al parecer, es divulgada por los dirigentes de la Corporación Araucana, es el sentido que solo los socios de la mencionada Sociedad recibirán Créditos en la Caja Agraria de Temuco, a cuenta de los fondos que oportunamente se destinaran por el Supremo Gobierno para esa finalidad.
>
> Todos los Indígenas, sí, todos los indígenas, sean ellos partidarios de la Corporación Araucana o no partidarios de esta Sociedad, siempre que reunan las condiciones que exigieran los respectivos Reglamentos de la Sección de la Caja de Crédito Agrario, recibirán su aporte. De esto, no dude nadie. Así debe ser y así será.
>
> Nuestros socios, simpatizantes y todos los mapuches, en general, tendran en nuestra secretaría los pormenores para la consecución de sus créditos. En breve abriremos una Secretaría Permanente para atender a todos los indígenas gratuitamente. Por ahora, está encargado el Sr. Esquivillon Antilef, en Padre Las Casas, Villa Alegre esquina La Paz, la atención de los socios que deseen créditos.

This article and the political dissension it suggests among the Mapuche came in the wake of a rumor that the Chilean government was going to make available [illegible] pesos (roughly [illegible] dollars in 1958) to be loaned in small amounts to Mapuche farmers. Since it is almost impossible for the Mapuche to establish private credit, this news fell "among the Mapuche like a shower in time of drought."

It is not to be imagined that even a large part of the reservation Mapuche are well versed in regional and national politics, although